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Censorship, Reissues, and the Popularity of Political Miscellanies

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As Andy Kesson and Emma Smith have stressed in the introduction to their recent collection of essays, *The Elizabethan Top Ten*, there are two prominent senses of the word “popularity” that might impinge on our thinking about print markets. The present collection of essays, based on a database primarily intended to give a more accurate sense of the fortunes of poems, poets, and miscellanies through the eighteenth century, tends to use the most common definition: “The fact or condition of being liked, admired, or supported by many people or by a particular group of people; general acceptance or approval” (*OED*, sense 3). However, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, popularity also carried with it political undertones, since it also meant “Popular or democratic government” (sense 1). Kesson and Smith cite numerous Elizabethan writers reflecting anxiously on the nature of popularity as “suspicious and seditious, a mechanism for power on the part of the apparently powerless.”¹ The concerted effort in Queen Anne’s reign by Chief Justice Holt (1642-1710) to use his severe interpretation of seditious libel law as a means of press control is one instance of the continuance of such anxieties into the eighteenth century.² The two instances of censorship in 1707 and 1743-44 explored below further suggest their perseverance. Censorship, then, implies an authoritarian fear of the disruptive power of one kind of popularity. However, the men and women who earned their living producing and selling books clearly had that other sense of popularity in mind. This article asks what might happen to our assessment of the popularity of certain miscellanies when censorship, or a fear thereof, compels a physical intervention. These are not wholesale suppressions, but cancels, reissues, and

resettings, ad hoc and partial responses to the threat of prosecution. Notoriety might help to sell books in some circumstances, but censorship could also prove very costly. Publishers had a line to tread, and along with authors, they came up with numerous tactics for publishing what they probably should not have published without getting into trouble.³ What follows examines two episodes when publishers of long-running, multivolume political miscellanies appear to have stepped over that line. The resulting interventions raise questions about the ways databases such as the Digital Miscellanies Index (DMI) record the quantity or frequency of poems published in miscellanies over the course of the eighteenth century. This kind of censorship, which turns one bibliographical item into two, might make a poem or the collection it appears in seem more popular in the DMI, as well as in other bibliographical resources. In one case, a series of cancels makes one “edition” look like two, and in another, changes made in standing type create the appearance of two new editions in two years. The first part of this essay describes the poems censored and the methods of censorship employed. In the light of that evidence, I conclude by trying to complicate bibliographers’ understanding of how reissues affect estimations of popularity, and by questioning the accepted practice of discounting reissues from statistical analysis, as well as the assumption enabling that discounting: that a reissue is a sign of speculative failure on the part of booksellers.

Poems on Affairs of State, Volume 4 (1707, 1716)

The first volume of *Poems on Affairs of State*, published in 1697, was a retrospective compendium of Restoration satires.⁴ It was reprinted in 1698, 1699, 1702, and reached a fifth edition in 1703. Volumes 2, 3, and 4 were first published in 1703, 1704, and 1707 respectively. As the series progresses, one finds a higher proportion of contemporary verse, creating a greater sense of political immediacy: the second poem in volume 2, for instance, is Defoe’s *True-Born Englishman* of 1701. The index to volume 4, especially, wears the recent dates of the majority of its poems

proudly on its sleeve (though it still contains material from across the late-Stuart period, and even some Shakespeare).⁵ This increased contemporaneity led to censorship: there are three canceled leaves in gathering 1 in almost all surviving copies of the fourth volume. We can say with confidence that these cancels resulted from censorial pressure, because in 1716, a publishing conger reissued some of the 1707 sheets in their uncanceled state: the original poems, which attack the Marlboroughs and the queen, are provocative and only thinly veiled by blanks and innuendo.⁶

Two poems are censored in the majority of the surviving 1707 texts. The first offending poem is entitled “A New Ballad to the Tune, Which no body can deny.” This political poem occupies sigs.I1v-I2r in the uncanceled 1716 copy of volume four. In the cancelled 1707 copies, the two first leaves of the gathering are cut out, and replaced with four reset pages, with one new poem to replace the offender (the surrounding poems are unchanged, but have been reset). This replacement poem, the almost-identically titled “A New Ballad,” is not new at all, but a seventeenth-century song by the composer and erstwhile associate of the King’s Men, John Wilson (“All the materials are the same”).⁷ The lyric is certainly misogynistic, but seems quite deliberately sourced from an earlier epoch, and is pointedly devoid of contemporary political reference.

Why was the original “New Ballad” censored? Queen Anne is referred to in the first line as “Royal N——y”; a manuscript note in the Houghton Library copy facsimiled on ECCO suggests “Nanny,” and the manuscript versions consulted all read “Nancy.”⁸ These infantilized and sexualized diminutives chime in with the poem’s argument: Anne, “more fit for a Bib than a Crown,” is a tool of the Marlboroughs, and of the duchess in particular. The queen disappoints those who “huzza’d her in Country and Town” at her succession by failing to become the Tory figurehead and protector of the church that many High Church Anglicans expected, and came increasingly to demand:

She flatter'd the Commons with a true *English* Heart,
And told them how nicely the Church she'd support
But Words are but Wind, and so is a Fart.⁹

“True *English* heart” closely paraphrases part of Anne’s coronation address to Parliament.¹⁰ The poem goes on to suggest that Anne’s courting of the High Church party was a ruse to ensure the supply of war funds, and to secure the creation of John Churchill as Marquess of Blandford, Dorset, and Duke of Marlborough on 14 December 1702, along with a £5,000 per annum pension: “Now the Mnoy-bill’s [*si*] pass’d they may go to the Devil” (115).¹¹ As the ballad progresses, it increasingly insists upon Sarah Churchill’s influence over the queen. We are told that

No Child ever stood in more awe of a Rod,
Than N[*an*] doth of S[*arah*]’s very Looks or a Nod.
It was well if she stood as much in fear of her God. (115)

The duchess “ransacks [Anne’s] Pockets, as well as ranges her parks,” and “vows she’ll ne’er leave her whilst worth but a groat” (115).¹² So, the poem is written from a Tory perspective, attacking the queen for not being quite Tory enough, and doing so by aggressively lambasting the Marlboroughs as founts of wicked counsel. The poem could have provoked a *scandalum magnatum* suit from the Marlboroughs, publishing as it does rumors that criticize peers and ~~in particular~~ bring into jeopardy the relationship between the monarch and her magnates (though by the early eighteenth century such prosecutions were becoming infrequent).¹³ Regardless, the criticism of the queen is strong enough, questioning her honesty, and even her Christian faith. Manuscript evidence suggests an effort to tone down the poem in print; one version in the Portland collection is more daring, adding a final stanza suggesting that “all the world” would be pleased

to see the Churchills in the hands of “Jack Ketch,” the infamous executioner, “And be glad to be rid of a Rogue and a Bitch.”¹⁴ In this version, two further verses pointedly accuse Sarah Churchill of corruption:¹⁵

For any great place he’s but a dull Creature
That troubles Q: A: w:th a thing of y:^t nature
If his purse please but Sarah there’s an end of y^e matter
w:^{ch} no &c.^t

What need he Care thõ money he Lack
For I wou’d nott wrong her for the cloths of my back
She’ll gett him a place iff he’ll let her go Snack
w:^{ch} no &c.^t (315)

“Snack” here means a share or portion: “to go snacks” is “to divide profits,” a late seventeenth-century coinage often found in publications relating to the criminal underworld.¹⁶ Given how far the poem goes in manuscript, the editor or publisher of *Poems on Affairs of State* may well have thought that he had neutered the poem sufficiently to evade censorship. He appears to have been mistaken.¹⁷

The second censored poem, at the other end of gathering I (sig.I8v), is entitled “On K. Charles’s Voyage to Spain, 1704.” “K. Charles” is Archduke Charles of Austria, the Allies’ favored candidate for the Spanish throne in the War of the Spanish Succession. The poem uses Spanish dynastic instability as an opportunity to conjure up Jacobite threats. The voyage in question is Charles’s passage in Admiral George Rooke’s fleet between December 1703 and February 1704 from the Netherlands to the Iberian Peninsula, via Windsor, where he met Queen

Anne.¹⁸ This public acknowledgement and support of the Hapsburg claim provokes the following admonition:

O unthinking A——! have you a care,
How with your Troops you wage a distant War,
Whilst an apparent Danger dwells so near
And whilst you wou'd a settled Prince dethrone,
And dare dispute his Title to a Crown,
The World requires by what title you hold your own. (128)

“Unthinking A——” recalls the Restoration satire “Rochester’s Farewell,” which appears in all versions of volume 1 of *Poems on Affairs of State*. The final lines of that poem refer to the Duchess of Portsmouth’s influence over Charles II, and run:

How wisely did your country laws ordain,
Never to let you silly women reign.
But what must we expect who daily see
Unthinking Charles rul’d by unthinking thee?¹⁹

In this reference to a usurping, sexualized feminine influence misleading a Stuart monarch, might we detect another allusion to Sarah Churchill’s influence over Anne?²⁰ In any case, this connection of Anne with her easily swayed uncle is only the first time the poem undermines her authority, and only the first time it asks the reader to hold two Stuarts in their mind simultaneously. The “apparent Danger” here is a punning reference to her brother, James Francis Edward Stuart, known as the Old Pretender, and, for Jacobites at least, heir *apparent* to the English and Scottish thrones. The poem leaves open the questions raised by rival claimants

to the throne, capitalizing on the proximity of “apparent” heirs, and the mere “appearance,” or veneer, of royal authority.

The Spanish-Jacobite dynastic parallel is straightforward. Anne, as a member of the Grand Alliance, has dethroned a “settled Prince,” the Bourbon Philip V, and replaced him with the Hapsburg Archduke Charles. In 1707, of course, Anne was keeping her brother James off the throne by means of the Act of Succession (1702).²¹ The last couplet returns to the play between Anne’s “apparent” legitimacy as monarch—founded on the exigent exclusion of Catholic heirs by parliamentary act—and on the more solid claims of the heir apparent: “Mere Title, *Charles*, will ne’er thy Cause advance, / Thou’rt K. of *Spain*, as *A*— is Q. of *France*” (*Poems on Affairs of State* [1716], 128). Charles of Austria is mocked for putting his faith in “Mere Title,” that is, monarchy conferred *only* by a political gesture. The implication is that Anne’s title to the throne is as fabricated as Charles’s, although that treasonous implication is somewhat diffused by the reference to the symbolic title of Queen of France, a fourteenth-century relic. Anne is, apparently, but not really, Queen of France. But if that is a hollow crown, what of her others? It is not only monarchs who name themselves and others king and queen. The poem takes the government’s official news editor to task for playing kingmaker, too:

How long has our vile *Gazetteer* mistook,
First made a Monarch, then redubbed a Duke!
Philip was King of *Spain* two Months ago,
And now, the Lord be prais’d, Duke *Charles* is so. (128)

A manuscript version adds the following couplet: “Why i’n’t th’equivocating Rogue arraign’d for’t, / In making Spain so near resemble Brainford?”²² The allusion is to *The Rehearsal*, Buckingham’s satire on Dryden’s heroic drama, where the incompetent Bayes’s play-within-a-play features a Brentford (or “Brainford”) with two kings, for reasons never very well explained.

The “vile *Gazetteer*” in question is Charles Delafaye, a public servant working in the Southern department, editor of the *London Gazette* from 1702 to 1707.²³ His overreaching and blundering (and by extension that of Anne and Charles) is thus aligned with the *hauteur* and incorrigibility of Buckingham’s Bayes. The *Gazette* refers to Charles as “King of Spain” or “King Charles III” from September 16 1703, which reflects official war policy, just one more way in which the attack on the gazetteer could be read as seditious.²⁴ Unlike the original “New Ballad,” this poem is not cut in its entirety; rather, its most indicatable or offensive content is removed. It is reprinted without the lines referring to Anne, and we are left with six lines stating that Charles has gone to Spain, and that the gazetteer—now not “vile,” but merely “poor”—has given Charles the title of King of Spain (figures 1 and 2). The result is a very weak poem, basically a commonplace jibe at the fickleness of *foreign* monarchies, with a tepid aside concerning journalism. There is no room for Jacobite analogy here.

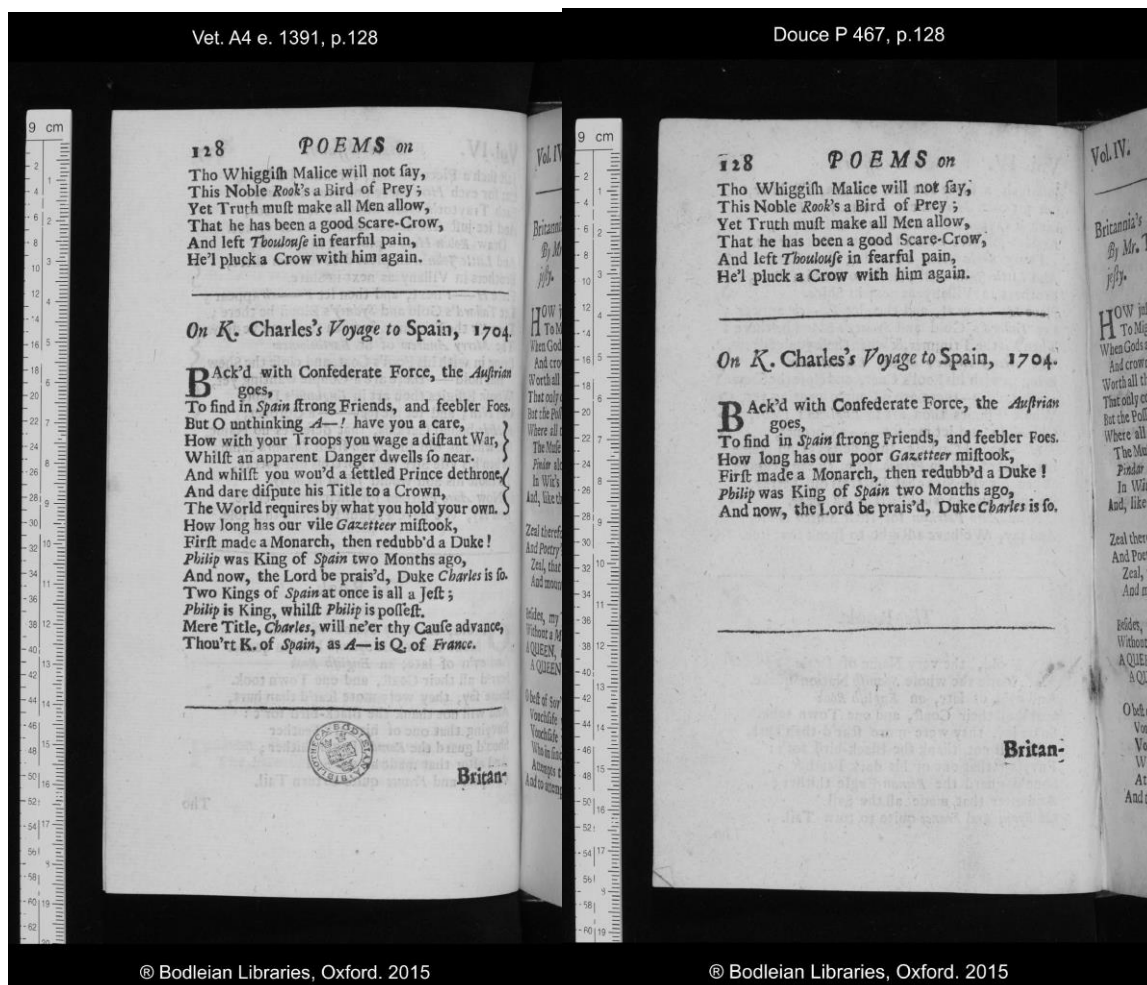


Figure 1: *Poems on Affairs of State*, vol. 4, page 128, from the uncanceled 1716 edition, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vet A4 e. 1391. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Figure 2: *Poems on Affairs of State* vol. 4, page 128, from the canceled 1707 version, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce P 467. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

***The Foundling Hospital for Wit* (1743, 1744, 1749)**

The Foundling Hospital for Wit emerges during another kind of succession crisis: the jostling for position following the fall of Robert Walpole. As Don Nichols discusses elsewhere in this issue, the miscellany was associated with Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Henry Fielding, Henry Fox, George Lyttleton, and William Pitt the Elder, and had a strongly Opposition bent, combining “the spirit of satiric collaboration of the Scriblerians with the rise of Opposition commentary in journals like *The Craftsman*.”²⁵ Editions of volume 2 of this series were published in 1743, 1744, and 1749. Again, poems are censored, only to reappear subsequently within the decade, and once more, the affected area is contained within a single sheet, though this time the alterations are made by resetting type, not cancellation. In 1743, pages 31-34 contain five full poems, and the start of a sixth: all but the last are replaced in the 1744 volume. In the original impression, page 31 starts with some inoffensive epigrams, but the first contender for censorship is an imitation of Horace (book 4, ode 13), which casts “Bubo” (William Pulteney, the Earl of Bath) as Horace’s once beautiful and now drunken woman, unwilling to recognize her own aging and to behave accordingly. As Horace’s target still solicits Cupid despite her advanced years, so Pulteney, the former Opposition leader subjected to constant ridicule since accepting a peerage as the Earl of Bath, persists in public life with almost Cibberian forehead.²⁶ He pursues the goddess Fame, but she would rather associate with the unblemished patriot William Pitt. The identity of Bubo is left unambiguous, as we are told that in searching out “P—T,” “The Goddess flies a dirty *Bath*.”²⁷ *The Foundling Hospital* attacks Pulteney persistently on these grounds, but his name is always obscured by an aposiopesis.²⁸ It may be that printing “*Bath*,” and thereby pointing towards Pulteney’s earldom, was enough to push this over into indictable territory.

The poem over the page might have been found even more provoking. Entitled, “Plain Thoughts, a Ballad,” it consists of a brisk and cynical political history from 1714 onward, one that reflects very badly on the Hanoverian establishment:

To save our old Laws a new M——h we took,
And well for those Laws an old Tyrant forsook:
And shou’d our old *England* again be at Stake,
A Curse on the Slaves who the N——w won’t forsake. (32)

“N——w” England here refers chiefly to the new dynastic dispensation after 1714, though it may also point towards the American colonies and the War of Jenkins’s Ear.²⁹ George I and his ministers are little better than a parade of stockjobbers; during his reign, “*H[anove]r flourish’d*, while *B[ritai]n* was robb’d” (32). The reigning monarch George II fares little better:

This M——h deceas’d, his son did succeed;
A P—— more august never came out of his Breed;
For tho’ at his Birth lying Wags had Fling,
He soon prov’d himself the true Son of a K—— (33)

The poem runs through familiar Opposition complaints about Walpole’s regime—about its corruption, standing armies, excise tax, licensing, and censorship—before concluding that “However descended, a K—— is a K——,” (that is, self-interested and corrupt, as the two Georges have been thus far portrayed), and further that “most Statesmen are Knaves / | And Patriots at C——t the lowest of Slaves” (33). Again, names and words like “Monarch” and “King” are smothered with aposiopeses.³⁰ However, as with the inclusion of “*Bath*” in the

previous poem, so here the barbed epithet “august” clearly points towards the present king, George Augustus.

The final poem to be excised from the 1744 editions, “Ode: to the new M——rs,” is an attack on another brazen courtier, “S——,” or the new chancellor of the Exchequer and erstwhile Pelhamite patriot Samuel Sandys, the “impenetrable Weight” of whose “solid Head” protects him from the pangs of conscience following his apostasy.³¹ Sandys is “Lost to all Shame and Feeling” and can only answer the arguments of Opposition politicians with leaden silence. Given the swift removal of this poem along with those hitherto discussed, one senses some irony in the accusation that Lord Bath “threatens Vengeance on the Press” and “makes our little Freedom less” (34).

These three poems, along with the two apparently inert epigrams on page 31, are replaced in 1744 with poems that are still political in theme and satirical in tone, but that do not come as close to identifying their targets. The first lampoons Carteret (his name is obscured) for his Treaty of Worms, signed on 13 September 1743, but in effect for only a month.³² It compares the minister unfavorably with Moore, the producer of worm powder commemorated by Alexander Pope.³³ The ballad attacking George II, “Plain Thoughts,” is replaced by “The Laws of Traffick,” a poem on trade, and “A very curious Receipt,” which suggests that a combination of the attributes of several government ministers might make Carteret a plausible prime ministerial candidate (33).³⁴ The last two new poems, replacing the “Ode to the New Managers,” make merry with reports that the Earl of Bath’s dog, Tray, had turned his back on his former master and run away (a ready-made analogy for Pulteney’s own alleged turncoaterly) (34).

So, in 1743, the second volume contains some poems that might be objected to by the ministry in general or the Earl of Bath in particular. The volume is reprinted in 1749, featuring a new setting of type that follows 1743 very closely and includes those poems replaced in 1744; whatever offended about these poems clearly did not offend for a long time. The censored 1744 volume is an interesting case. It is exactly the same setting except for the title page and the two

leaves described above, sigs E4r-[F1]v (sig. F1 is unsigned). There is no evidence of cancellation in the copies consulted.³⁵ The summary contents on the title page of the 1744 volume mentions “Ode to the New Managers,” an omitted poem. A closer look confirms that the change in date from 1743 to 1744 is the only substantive difference on this title page: above the lowermost rule,

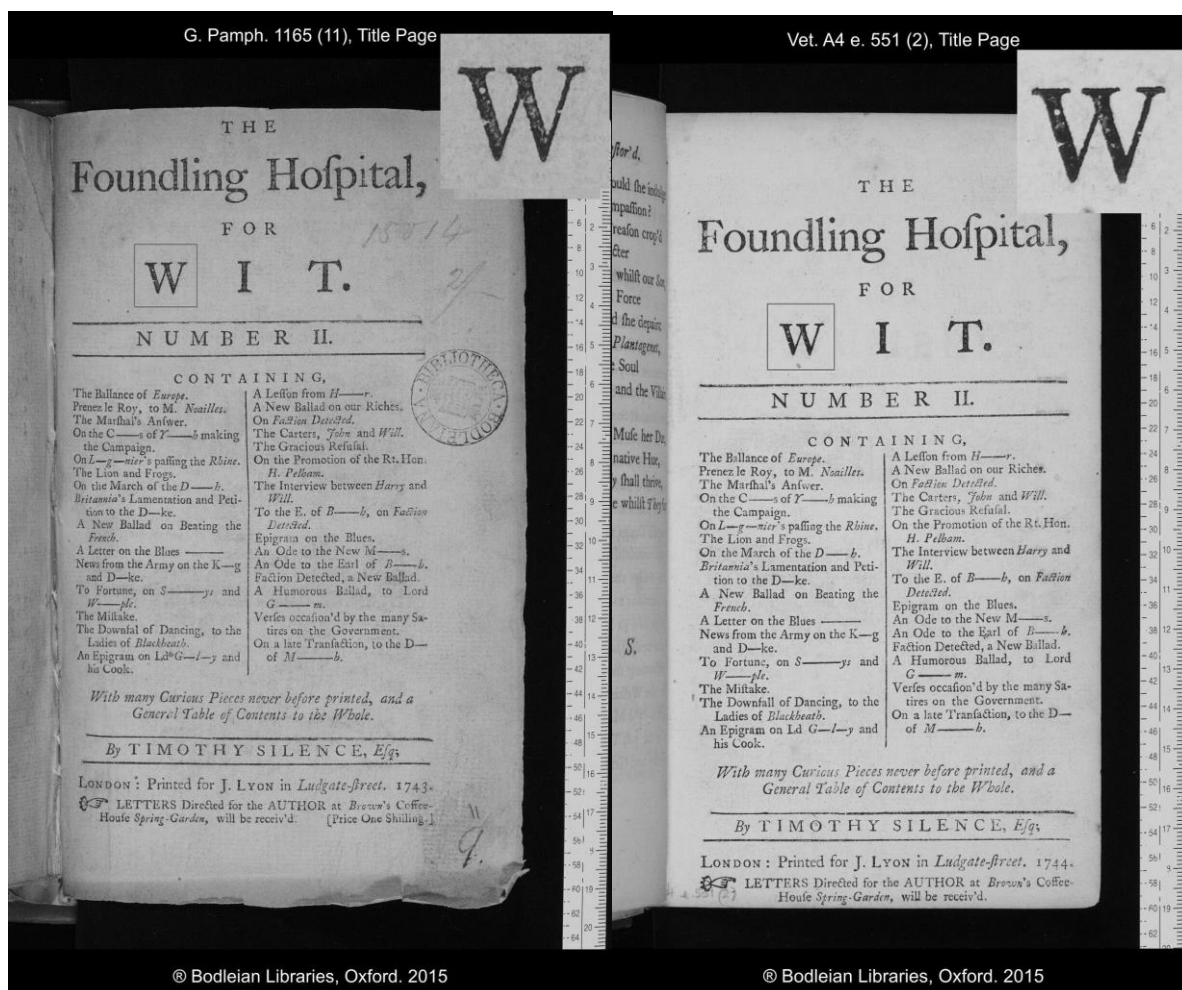


Figure 3: Title-page, *The Foundling Hospital for Wit* vol. 2. This is the 1743 imprint, Bodleian Library, Oxford, G. Pamph. 1165 (11). Compare with figure 4: type below the lowermost rule has been reset; the holes shown on the left-hand descenders of the “W’s” in “WIT” (see enlargement) show that the type is identical. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Figure 4: Title-page, *The Foundling Hospital for Wit*, vol. 2. This is the 1744 imprint, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vet. A4 e. 551 (2). Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

the setting is identical, the printer having broken the form in order to alter the imprint (figures 3 and 4).³⁶ This means that some of the type was still standing when the date was changed. As there is no evidence of cancellation, this in turn suggests that the two modified leaves were also changes made in the standing type. The type for a four-sheet pamphlet could easily have been kept standing without inconveniencing a print shop.³⁷ It may well have been advantageous to be able to respond to demand without committing to a fixed print run. This kind of correction is most likely the result of censorship, and possibly the result of a failure of nerve.³⁸

Evidence in the imprints and paratexts of these *Foundling Hospital* volumes points at least to wariness of censorship: it is likely that a trade publisher, possibly one employing a pseudonymous imprint, was responsible for distributing the *Foundling Hospital*. The second volume is advertised in the *Daily Post* for 13 March 1744, and is said to be published on that day for “W. Lyon.” The proximity to the end of the 1743 legal year (21 March 1744) means that this is probably an advertisement for the modified second volume with the 1744 imprint. There is no way of knowing for certain, however, as “W. Lyon” does not appear on any of the imprints on extant copies. Indeed, the imprints for this miscellany series are consistently inconsistent. The first 1743 volume is printed for “G. Lion, near Ludgate Street,” the second volumes (1743 and 1744) for “J. Lyon, in Ludgate Street.” The inconsistency in initials and the imprecise location—Ludgate Street was long and populated with many booksellers—indicates a false or misleading imprint.³⁹ The “W. Webb” that appears to take over the *Foundling Hospital* from volume 3 (1746), reprinting earlier numbers, is a frequently used false name in eighteenth-century publishing.⁴⁰ Perhaps this shift in name between the censored volume 2 and volume 3 represents not a change in publisher, but a change in imprint subterfuge. The most likely candidate hiding behind this pride of Lions is Jacob Robinson, identified as a trade publisher by Treadwell. He moved to premises at the sign of the Golden Lion on Ludgate Street around 1741 (“Trade Publishers,” 112). All but one of the Lion/Lyon publications in ESTC are from after this date, and most precede his death in 1759. It is possible that “Lyon” or “Lion” near Ludgate Street served to indicate the location of sale: at the Golden Lion (“G. Lion” is especially pointed in this regard). This would mean that as misleading imprints go, this might not have been all that misleading.⁴¹ As we have seen from the content of these volumes, Robinson (or rather his client) had good reason to give the *Foundling Hospital* a local habitation but not a name. Indeed, the *Foundling Hospital* also has a fictitious “author” or editor, one Mr. Silence, whose name changes inexplicably from Samuel to Timothy after the first volume. This is a miscellany that sets itself up as a refuge for orphaned wit. However, the anonymity of the majority of these poems is not only

part of an extended conceit, but also has a prophylactic function, and we might say the same of the nebulous publishing information.⁴² Together with the content of the poems, this atmosphere of subterfuge and the use of a misleading imprint strongly suggest that this partial resetting was impelled by censorship or fear of prosecution.

Reissues, Remarketing, and Popularity

The DMI has given us a better picture of the popularity of authors, poems, and miscellanies across this period. It is rich in data, and its strength is in that breadth of coverage and the connections the database enables us to make between different data sets. Fundamentally, however, in using such a database we are equating popularity with the number of times something appears in print, or the number of attributions made in printed texts. In many ways such an equation makes sense: if a publisher puts out a new edition of a work, it is reasonable to assume that they do so in anticipation of demand.⁴³ This seems even safer as a measure when books go into several editions quickly. Most discussions of literary popularity—the majority of which have focused on the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods—take this approach, though there are differences in methodology. There is little disagreement, however, that in measuring popularity we should disregard reissues, because they do not represent a publisher's speculation in the same way: they are not new investments, they are not a sign of expected demand.⁴⁴

However, this is a partial reading of reissues, which do offer us information about demand and the ways it is anticipated. In the first place, they could indicate a *failure* of speculation on the part of the publisher, an overestimation of demand. There might in this regard be an argument for giving such books a negative weighting in statistical analysis: a reissue can be taken as evidence that a full print run has *not* sold out at a given point, evidence we lack for single editions.

Alternatively—and better, I think—reissues might be classified as indicating a popularity (or a potential popularity) somewhere between there being no further publication activity at all, and

the production of a new edition. For whilst the decision to reissue *may* indicate that a publisher overestimated the demand for one of his books, it also indicates that he or she thought that they *could* dispose of it with a new lick of paint. A reissue may be said to tell multiple stories about demand, more detailed stories than new editions can, because it bears the traces of manipulation at the hands of publishers and printers. It has a more legible history. For that reason, it seems imprudent to dismiss reissues out of hand as evidence. They may be problematic as *statistical* evidence, because different reissues signify different things, but that variance is precisely where their utility lies.⁴⁵

If one adopts the standard view of reissues as evidence of a speculative failure on the part of publishers, the poems this article has been discussing, and the miscellanies they appear in, might be said to produce anomalies in the DMI. The second volume of the *Foundling Hospital* appears to go into two editions in two years. However, those two editions are actually reimpressions, two states of the same edition, possibly produced in such quick succession so as to prevent customers from registering the difference. The poems in it, save those censored in 1744, appear “erroneously” once in the database (we are “counting” the same impression twice).⁴⁶ Yet it is unclear how misleading this is, if it is misleading at all. We do not know what the projected print run was, or whether it was increased or diminished by this intervention. The type may have been left deliberately standing after printing a given number to see how the market responded: in this situation, the 1744 impression might indeed be seen as a “new” edition. Changes to standing type do not tell us much about demand without external evidence. All they prove positively in this case is that demand continued, or was expected to, after at least twenty-eight of the 1743 setting (the number now extant) had been printed.⁴⁷ The reissue of the 1707 impression of *Poems on Affairs of State* volume 4 might be said to lead to a similar duplication of data in the DMI. What looks like two editions is really one, save the differences in three leaves and a cancel title page.⁴⁸ Poems from the same setting of type appear twice in the database. However, if the 1707 impression were not reissued in 1716, two of the poems that their original

publisher had speculated on the popularity of—the ballad on the Marlboroughs and the intact poem on Charles’s voyage—would be lost. Without the censorship in gathering I, the misogynist lyric “All the materials are the same” would appear one less time in the database. The inclusion of that lyric and the gutted satire on Charles of Austria, it might fairly be said, is the result of forces that have little to do with a publisher’s estimation of what might sell. Other intentions are at play, and equating a hit in the database with expected popularity obscures those intentions.

The reissue of *Poems on Affairs of State* in 1716 suggests one more way in which a reissue is not necessarily a sign of failure or unpopularity. The 1716 volumes are published by a conger: Thomas Tebb, Theophilus Sanders, Edward Symon, and Francis Clay. They are all reissues with cancel title pages, except for the third volume, which has a new setting.⁴⁹ It is likely that this new volume 3 was printed to level out the stock, enabling the continued sale of complete sets.⁵⁰ This 1716 reissuing is not a departure for this miscellany series. In fact, identifying these volumes as reissues may mislead more than it informs, especially where questions of popularity are concerned. It is more appropriate to think of *Poems on Affairs of State* as a series often remarketed. James Woodward, who is identified as publisher in the preface to volume 4 in 1707 (sig.A2v), advertised that volume in the *Term Catalogues* and the newspapers.⁵¹ In that advertisement, he also offered the earlier three volumes for sale. These will have been the 1703 impressions of volumes 1 and 2, and the 1704 impression of volume 3. On 16 and 20 February 1710, Woodward, now in partnership with John Morphew, placed another advertisement for *Poems on Affairs of State* in the *Daily Courant*. The advertisement will have been prompted by the new 1710 setting of volume 1 (ESTC T144920), but it too advertises the other volumes, warning customers that “there are but 100 compleat Setts left.” As in 1716, it seems that this new impression was an attempt to replenish stock levels, maintaining sales of complete sets.⁵²

Poems on Affairs of State was clearly not flying off the shelves: the 1716 reissue contained sheets that were then thirteen years old. However, it is not appropriate to condemn this miscellany series as a failure. Each “reissue,” after all, is accompanied with a new setting of one

of the volumes. The decision to print more copies to maintain stock levels of complete sets might itself be taken as a sign that booksellers thought there was demand, however moderate.⁵³ To adopt the terminology of Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, *Poems on Affairs of State* has a specific “structure of popularity,” and its reissuing is key to understanding that structure.⁵⁴ Scholars interested in the popularity of poetry in this period might be inclined to disregard publications like these 1716 reissues. However, the distinction between those volumes and, say, the 1703 volume 2 offered for sale in 1710 is completely arbitrary. In both cases, publishers were getting new money for old rope. It is only because the conger added cancel title pages with new dates that we can recognize the 1716 texts as reissues. Why should the production of a new title page make such a difference in our estimation of a miscellany’s popularity? In this case, both reissues and remarketing mean that booksellers think they can sell their old stock. These 1716 volumes are several rungs up the popularity ladder from Dryden’s martyrs of pies and relics of the bum; there could be many second editions sitting happily in the statistical calculations of book historians that were far less “popular” than these reissues.

The post- or intra-publication censorship in these two political miscellanies, I suggested above, might be said to give rise to “erroneous” entries in the quantitative data generated by the DMI. However, such “misleading” entries, like the not-very-misleading imprints of *The Foundling Hospital for Wit*, can prove to be enlightening: as I have been arguing, reissues, if considered properly, might tell us fuller stories about popularity. One of the reasons for building an index of miscellanies in the first place was to take advantage of their responsiveness to literary culture, to give a kind of present-tense picture of the poetry market. The bare fact that there is censorship in these miscellanies, the relative contemporaneity of the anti-Marlborough ballad in *Poems on Affairs of State*, and the on-the-hoof corrections in evidence in *The Foundling Hospital for Wit* are all signs of that responsiveness. They are all things that the DMI makes more visible.

Notes

¹ Andy Kesson and Emma Smith, "Introduction: Towards a Definition of Print Popularity," in *The Elizabethan Top Ten*, ed. Kesson and Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 4.

² See Philip Hamburger, "The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press," *Stanford Law Review* 37 (1984-85): 661-765. For the ecclesiastical censorship of almanacs, see Valerie Rumbold, "Burying the Fanatic Partridge: Swift's Holy Week Hoax," in *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift*, ed. Claude Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ., 2010), 81-115, especially 93-97.

³ Hamburger, in "Development," suggests that irony and innuendo in early eighteenth-century literature are results of politico-legal pressures (738).

⁴ For a reading of *Poems on Affairs of State* as a particularly Whiggish series, see Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714* (Oxford: Oxford Univ., 2005), 85, 199.

⁵ *Poems on Affairs of State*, 4 vols. (London, 1707), 4:sig.A2r.

⁶ The conger consists of Thomas Tebb, Theophilus Sanders, Edward Symon, and Francis Clay: all of them seem to be relatively new to the trade in 1716. Clay was apprenticed, according to the *British Book Trade Index*, in 1708, and Symon in 1711. None appears on imprints earlier than 1715. I have so far located one uncanceled copy of the 1707 volume 4 (thirty-five holding libraries have responded out of a total of forty-seven), in the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, shelfmark Horn B42 v. The library also holds a canceled copy. With thanks to Elspeth E. Healey for her assistance.

⁷ The song appears in Bodleian MS Mus b.1, fol.134v. This manuscript songbook in the hand of Wilson's friend Edward Lowe contains the majority of Wilson's songs. See *Oxford DNB*, online at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29662>>.

⁸ University of Nottingham Library MS Portland PwV 46, 314-15, and MS Portland PwV 42, 458-60; Bodleian MS Eng. poet e.50, fol.12 (a modern transcription of the poem from MS Portland PwV 46); MS Rawl. poet 169, fol.31; Leeds Brotherton Library Lt. 11, p.83; British

Library Add. MS 21094, fol.130; Folger Library W.a.135, fol.102v (not consulted, first line from *Union First Line Index of English Verse*, online at

<<http://firstlines.folger.edu/detail.php?id=56176>>). “Nanny” (possibly an elision of “mine Annie”) was used as slang for a prostitute in the seventeenth century: a “Nanny-house” is defined as a “Bawdy-house” in B. E., *A New Dictionary . . . Of The Canting Crew* (London: H. Hawes, 1699), sig.H6r.

⁹*Poems on Affairs of State*, 4 vols. (London: Thomas Tebb et al, 1716), 4:115.

¹⁰ “And as I know My own Heart to be Entirely *English*, I can very Sincerely Assure you, There is not any thing you can Expect or Desire from Me, which I shall not be Ready to do, for the Happiness and Prosperity of *England*.” See *Her Majesties most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament* (Dublin: C. Carter, 1702). Swift picks up on this in his poem on the Union of 1707, which remained unpublished in his lifetime: “The Queen has lately lost a part / Of her entirely English heart.” See “Verses Said to be Written on The Union,” in *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Univ., 1958), 1:96.

¹¹ The grant in particular triggered opposition in Parliament. See *Oxford DNB*, online at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5401>>. MS Portland PwV 42 dates the ballad to 1703 in the margin.

¹² The “parks” in question are probably the Royal Park of Woodstock, the location of the soon-to-be-built Blenheim Palace.

¹³ Roger B. Manning, in “The Origins of the Doctrine of Sedition,” *Albion* 12 (1980): 99-121, describes the criminal offence of *scandalum magnatum* as “publishing false rumors or slander which might make a division between a king and his magnates” (111). *Scandalum magnatum* could be either a criminal or civil matter; it fell out of use as a means of press control, partly because a defense could be made on the grounds that the libel was true, which could prove embarrassing for the prosecution (Hamburger, “Development,” 668). John C. Lassiter, in “Defamation of Peers: The Rise and Decline of the Action for Scandalum Magnatum, 1497-1773,” *The American*

Journal of Legal History 22 (1978): 216-36, argues that the use of *scandalum magnatum* as a means of recovering civil damages also declined in the early 1700s because of the perceived obsolescence of that part of the law “which held ill-mannered words to be actionable, solely because they were spoken of a peer, when in the case of a commoner they would not have been so held” (234). For evidence that the Duchess of Marlborough was minded to suppress satirical slights even late in her life, see *The Twickenham Edition of the Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt, et al., 11 vols. (London: Methuen, 1939-68), 3:2, 6.

¹⁴ University of Nottingham Library MS Portland MS PwV 46, 315.

¹⁵ The same charge is found in the British Library manuscript version, and that at Leeds Brotherton Library further suggests that “Queen Zarah” is effectively vetoing legislation (Lt. 11, 84).

¹⁶ *OED*, “Snack, n. 2,” sense 3. See also *A New Dictionary . . . Of The Canting Crew*, sigs. L3v-L4r, and Alexander Smith, *A Compleat History of the Lives and Robberies of the most Notorious Highway-Men, Foot-Pads, Shop-Lifts, and Cheats, of both Sexes*, 2 vols. (London: Sam Briscoe, 1719), 1:sig.C4*v. The verb “snack” may derive from Middle Dutch “*snacken*,” “to snap (of a dog),” perhaps anticipating the characterization of the duchess as a “bitch” on the facing page (*OED*, “Snack, v.”).

¹⁷ This editorial figure is possibly the bookseller James Woodward: see below.

¹⁸ See *Oxford DNB*, online at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24059>>. For Charles’s reception at Windsor, see the *London Gazette* 3980 (30 December-3 January 1704).

¹⁹ *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, ed. Elias F. Mengel Jr., 7 vols. (New Haven: Yale Univ., 1965), 2:227.

²⁰ For contemporary rumors of lesbian sexual relationships between Anne and her favorites, see Nicola Parsons, *Reading Gossip in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Palgrave, 2009), 21-22.

²¹ The Act of Union later in 1707 would ratify James Francis Edward's exclusion. The replacement of James II by William and Mary in 1688 is probably also intended as an analogue here.

²² Bodleian Library MS Rawl Poet 81, fol.2. The version in Bodleian Library pr. bk. Firth b.21, fol.61v has the same couplet with some accidental variants.

²³ Henry L. Snyder, "The Circulation of Newspapers in the Reign of Queen Anne," *Library* 23 (1968): 206-35, especially 216 (with thanks to David Brewer for the reference). See *Oxford DNB*, online at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39578>>. Delafaye was "arraign'd," though for another transgression, when in 1704 he was called before the House of Lords after the *Gazette* printed a paragraph in May 1703 that seemed to reflect on military orders and attempted to exculpate the soon-to-be-dismissed Admiral Graydon for failing to engage French Men of War properly. See *Oxford DNB*, online at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11359>>, and *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 17: 1701-1705*, British History Online, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=14768&strquery=delafay>>.

²⁴ The gazetteer was not alone in acknowledging Charles, though he may have been quick off the mark: *London Gazette* 3967 (15-18 November 1703) carries an advertisement for "The True Effigies of Charles III. King of Spain," engraved by George White. More pertinently, following a treaty with Portugal, the aim of the allies in the war shifted on Charles's arrival on the Iberian peninsula in 1704: "From [that moment], the original aims of the war were deflected: henceforth the primary object of the allies was to secure the entire Spanish monarchy for Charles, rather than to obtain a balanced division of power in Europe." Anne refers to Charles as "my Brother the King of Spain" in a letter to the Emperor Leopold dated 3 March 1704. See *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, ed. Beatrice Curtis Brown (London: Cassell, 1968), 135-37.

²⁵ *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, ed. Donald W. Nichol (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), x. Nichol suggests that as a foundling hospital for Opposition poetry, these miscellanies

were willing to sail close to the wind, printing verse which “no-one else wanted—or dared—to print.”

²⁶ Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad in Four Books*, ed. Valerie Rumbold (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2009), 342.

²⁷ *The Foundling Hospital for Wit*, 6 vols. (London: G. Lion, 1743), 2:31.

²⁸ See, for instance, *Foundling Hospital* (1743), 2:24-25, 27-28.

²⁹ Opposition writers such as James Ralph had been critical of the government’s handling of that conflict. See *Oxford DNB*, online at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23060>>.

³⁰ It is possible the prevalence of blanks in this poem is a kind of satirical strategy (i.e., a parody), and it might recall some of the more famous blanks of Pope’s *Dunciad* of 1728 (“Thy Dragons ★★ and ** shall taste”), filled in variously by commentators as “George and Caroline” or “Kings and Princesses”; Pope himself experimented in drafts with “Universities and Lords” and “Peers and Potentates,” before settling on “Magistrates and Peers” in the fifth 1728 impression. See Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad: An Heroic Poem*, in vol. 3 of *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. Valerie Rumbold (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007), 105. As Hamburger, in “Development,” points out, partial blanks were not always accepted as a defense by courts prosecuting for seditious libel, but it seems they served as a de facto shield for the same reason that *scandalum magnatum* fell out of use (see note 13). In filling in the blanks, the reader or prosecutor admits, even if only tacitly, the “truth” of the slander, and whilst truth was not acceptable as a defense for seditious libel in the eighteenth century, it might still cause embarrassment (749). See also Jim McGee, “Obscene Libel and the Language of the Imperfect Enjoyment,” in *Reading Rochester*, ed. Edward Burns (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ., 1995). Henry Fielding is eloquent on this kind of satirical interpellation in the story of Bob and the sign of the ass, in “Dedication to the Publick” in *The Historical Register* (London: J. Roberts, 1736), n.p.

³¹ See *Oxford DNB*, online at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24652>>.

³² *The Foundling Hospital for Wit*, 6 vols. (London: G. Lion, 1744), 2:31-32.

³³ Pope, “To Mr. John Moore, Author of the Celebrated Worm-Powder,” in *Twickenham Edition*, 6:161-64.

³⁴ Thanks are due to the members of the C18-L mailing list (and in particular Sean Silver, Mark Davison, and Don Nichol) for their assistance in identifying the “John” in this poem.

³⁵ Bodleian Vet. A4e.551; British Library 1077.h.27, and 992.l.32(2).

³⁶ It would not be too difficult to keep the majority of the type intact when disturbing only a lower portion of the page. The type is certainly the same: the capital “W” in the title page’s “WIT” has a loss on the left-hand diagonal stroke that is discernible in copies of 1743 and 1744 in both the Bodleian and British Library copies. There is also a badly-inked “C” in “Cook” in the final line of the left-hand column of contents. See title pages of Bodleian G. Pamph.1165(11), and Vet.A4e.551(2); British Library G.16632, and 992.L.32(2).

³⁷ For precedent for this kind of correction under pressure of censorship (or at least censure), see Jonathan Swift, *English Political Writings, 1711-1714*, ed. Ian Gadd and Bertrand Goldgar (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ., 2008), 5-7, 344-45.

³⁸ According to ESTC, there are more extant 1743 imprints (twenty-eight) than there are of the expunged 1744 (eleven).

³⁹ See Michael Treadwell, “On False and Misleading Imprints in the London Book Trade, 1660-1750,” in *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies, 1989). That W. Lion/Lyon returns no hits on ESTC as a publisher also suggests fabrication.

⁴⁰ Michael Treadwell, “London Trade Publishers, 1675-1750,” *Library* 6th ser. 4 (1982): 99-134.

⁴¹ According to Treadwell, in “False Imprints,” “We must never forget Greg’s reminder that an imprint was intended for prospective customers, not future bibliographers” (31).

⁴² Obviously fictional pseudonyms aside, out of 244 poems across six volumes, 9 are given initials or partial names, 5 attributed to deceased writers, and only 4 are attributed to people living at the time of publication.

⁴³ Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, in “The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005): 1-32, make a distinction between monopoly or patent books and “speculative books” (i.e., books offered to an open market and paid for by a publisher) on the grounds that this kind of assessment of potential consumer demand tells us things about popularity that “non-speculative” books cannot (14). Peter Blayney, in “The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005): 33-50, takes issue with this, amongst other things.

⁴⁴ For recent examples of bibliographers omitting reissues from their statistical analysis, see Lukas Erne and Tamsin Badcoe, “Shakespeare and the Popularity of Poetry Books in Print, 1583-1622,” *Review of English Studies* 65 (2014): 33-57, especially 37; Blayney, “Alleged Popularity of Playbooks,” 49; Farmer and Lesser, “Popularity of Playbooks Revisited,” 13; and Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), 88.

⁴⁵ New editions are unstable categories of evidence too: we usually do not know the size of print runs, and we are only ever dealing with an unknown fraction of the “real” print market due to survival rates. Kesson and Smith, in *Elizabethan Top Ten*, point out that even survival is not necessarily an indication of popularity, some books having been “read to destruction” (9).

⁴⁶ ESTC notes that the 1716 *Poems on Affairs of State* is a reissue of 1707 (and that there exist variant states of 1707). However, the entries for the 1743, 1744, and 1748 *Foundling Hospital for Wit*, volume 2, do not explain that 1744 is only a partial resetting of 1743. DMI makes these distinctions more visible, in certain ways, because there one can search the content of miscellanies.

⁴⁷ Clearly, rather more than 28 were printed, but we have no record of how many. Dodsley published a run of 500 of a new impression of volume 1 in 1763. See *The Bonyer Ledgers*, ed. Keith Maslen and John Lancaster (London: Bibliographical Society, 1991), 343 (no. 4428).

⁴⁸ This bibliographical identity, of course, does not mean that these miscellanies are the same in social or literary terms, as the foregoing discussion has emphasized.

⁴⁹ The most probable composition for these sets is as follows: volume 1, a reissue of a 1710 edition (ESTC T144920); volume 2, a reissue of one of the variant 1703 impressions; volume 3, the new setting; and volume 4, a reissue of the 1707 fourth volume, without cancels.

Interestingly, the set in the British Library at shelfmark 1077 k.52-56 has a canceled 1707 volume 4 (the other volumes have 1716 title pages). The possibility remains that the 1716 volume 3 is a reissue of a now-lost earlier impression, but to say so would be pure conjecture. It differs from all extant settings.

⁵⁰ In 1963, W. J. Cameron, in “The Princeton Copies of Poems on Affairs of State, Vol. II, 1703,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 24 (1963): 121-27, noted that in a Harvard copy of a 1716 volume 2, sheet E appears to have been reset, possibly “to make up copies of the 1716 reissue” (123).

⁵¹ Advertisements appear in the *Post Man and the Historical Account* on 12 June 1707 and in the *Daily Courant* on 21 June 1707. See also *The Term Catalogues*, ed. Edward Arber, 3 vols. (London: privately printed, 1906), 3:544. For further information on Woodward’s career, see John McTague, “The *New Atalantis* Arrests: A Reassessment,” *Library* 15 (2014): 439-46.

⁵² ESTC locates forty-nine copies of 1707 volume 4 (one uncanceled: see note 6); thirty-four copies of 1716 volume 4 are now extant, 1716 volume 1 survives in twenty-five copies, volume 2 in twenty copies, and volume 3 in twenty copies.

⁵³ Nor is this practice confined to *Poems of Affairs of State*: when Dodsley (under the false name Webb) had Bowyer print the first volume of *The Foundling Hospital* in 1763, it was to be issued with earlier versions of volumes 2-6. See *Bowyer Ledgers*, ed. Maslen and Lancaster, 343.

⁵⁴ See Farmer and Lesser, “Structures of Popularity in the Early Modern Book Trade,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005): 206-13, and “What is Print Popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade,” in *Elizabethan Top Ten*, ed. Kesson and Smith, 19-54.